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The Shape of Things

IN THE PAST WEEK THE R. A. F. HAS STEPPED up its offensive against Germany and the occupied countries in an impressive manner. From July 25 to 31 inclusive five heavy raids were made against four German cities—Hamburg (hit twice), Duisburg, Saarbruecken, and Dusseldorf. All these places, it is worth noting, are key communication centers as well as the homes of leading war industries. At the same time fighters and light bombers have been carrying out regular daylight sweeps along the invasion coast hitting at airfields, barracks, gun-sites, and freight trains as well as constantly and successfully challenging Nazi planes. One result is that the Luftwaffe has been stung into making a new series of reprisal raids on Britain. But these seem to have caused comparatively little damage while costing the Germans a far higher percentage of losses than the British have suffered in their night bombing attacks. Altogether the Nazis lost 113 planes over Britain and Western Europe during July while 251 R. A. F. machines were downed—a comparison by no means unfavorable considering the immensely greater scale of British operations. Undoubtedly, the British offensive —soon to become the Anglo-American offensive—has by no means approached full violence. In a radio message to Germans Air Marshall Sir Arthur T. Harris, Britain's bomber chief, warned that far heavier raids were coming and that one city after another would be pulverized. We do not know whether the Anglo-American staffs regard this air offensive as an end in itself or as a preliminary essential to the establishment of a second front. Recent Nazi moves suggest a fear that the latter is true, and we hope this fear will be rapidly justified.

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GENERAL DRAJA MIKHAILOVITCH'S ARMY continues to maintain a second front of genuine military significance, tying up Axis forces at least as large as those engaged in North Africa. For some weeks it has been on the offensive and has extended its operations to all parts of Yugoslavia. One daring column is reported to have carried the war right to the Italian border near Trieste and Fiume. Other bands have been raiding along the banks of the Danube, threatening oil shipments from Rumania and forcing the Hungarians to send heavy

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reinforcements. The latest reports speak of a foray into Dalmatia which succeeded in destroying the important bauxite mines at Suk, smashing harbor installations along the coast, and capturing large quantities of Italian supplies. In Croatia battles on a large scale have been taking place. The Axis radio frequently speaks of "punitive expeditions" but the only successes they seem to have scored have been against civilians. There are many Lidices in Yugoslavia. Tens of thousands of men, women, and children have been massacred and huge numbers deported. But support for the patriot army grows ever stronger, and increasing numbers of Croats are revolting against their fascist government. Three weeks ago Major Helm, Gestapo chief in Croatia, was assassinated in the streets of Zagreb. His bodyguard ran amok with grenades and machine guns, killing 700 persons and providing an unforgettable demonstration of the meaning of the "New Order." Despite General Mikhailovitch's successes, he badly needs supplies if he is to continue fighting. To what extent support is reaching him is of course a military secret. But we hope that everything possible is being done to send him essentials by air. He has shown his ability to make a little go a long way.

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INDIA'S ZERO HOUR IS VERY NEAR. NEW movements of the Japanese Burma army toward the Bengal frontier are reported and on August 7 the All-India Congress is expected to ratify Gandhi's proposals for a civil disobedience campaign to compel Britain to grant immediate independence. It is uncertain what form the campaign will take—a general strike, a boycott of British goods, refusal to pay taxes—these are some of the possibilities. Undoubtedly there will be mass demonstrations giving rise to excitement which can all too easily result in bloody disorders. This Gandhi himself has recognized. It is improbable, however, that Congress will receive as wide support as it has in the past. The Communist Party, which the Indian government has wisely legalized, is influential both among the students and the trade unions and it is hotly opposed to disruption of the anti-Axis front at this time. Nor are Indian business men, busy with war contracts, likely to be so free with financial support for Congress as they have been in the past. But even a partially successful civil-disobedience campaign might have disastrous results. In a recent open letter "To Every Japanese," Gandhi wrote: "You have been gravely misinformed that we have chosen this particular moment to embarrass the Allies when your attack against India is imminent. You will be sadly disappointed if you believe that you would receive a willing welcome from India." But, in his latest statement, he warned that unless India received complete independence now "her hidden discontent may burst forth into welcome for the Japanese." It is clear that Congress believes that Britain's present danger presents a unique opportunity. Yet Britain cannot defend India and at the same time abdicate all its authority, so any victory Congress achieves will be a Phyrric one. At this stage lifting India out of the British frying pan means dropping it in the much hotter Japanese fire.

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AIDED BY AMERICAN PLANES THE CHINESE have succeeded in nullifying a greater part of the successes won by the Japanese in their great offensive of early summer. Although Japan still holds the important air bases in Chekiang province seized several weeks ago, the Chinese have recently recaptured a number of towns in the area, including Kienteh, thirty miles north of Kinhwa, and Tsing-tien, a few miles from the important city of Wenchow. The Chinese have also reoccupied a short stretch of the Hangchow-Namchang railway and thus, temporarily, at least, disrupted Japanese plans to link Shanghai and Canton by rail as part of a grandiose Shanghai-to-Singapore rail project. Several sections of the Peiping-Hankow railway are reported to have been put out of commission by Chinese sappers. The small American air force which has been sent to aid Chiang Kai-shek's forces has distinguished itself in both offensive and defensive action. The Americans have successfully raided Hongkong, Hankow, and various Yangtze river ports, and have succeeded in turning back the one attempt that the Japanese have made to resume their usual summer bombing attacks on Chungking. Efforts by the Japanese to destroy the main American base at Hengyang have so far failed despite the use of more than a hundred late-model bombers and fighters manned by experienced airmen. Although Hengyang is not as favorably situated as some of the air fields that have recently been taken by the Japanese, it is well within Flying Fortress range of Tokyo—if only China had the Flying Fortresses!

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SERIOUS SHORTAGES IN STEEL, ALUMINUM, copper, and other critical materials are threatening to slow down armament production at a moment when additional output is desperately needed if a second front is to be opened. Responsibility for the new bottlenecks is difficult to fix. Friends of Donald Nelson have been inclined to blame the Army and Navy Munitions Board for diverting steel and other materials to relatively unessential projects. The board insists that the WPB alone has the power to cope with the raw-materials shortage. Harvey Anderson of the WPB's Conservation and Substitution Division declares that there "is no real shortage of critical materials . . . merely the most extravagant kind of wastage." The waste is held to be most flagrant in the Army and Navy, but is serious throughout industry. It is evident also that we are paying a heavy price for industry-dominated estimates of steel and aluminum

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needs made by the OPM in the early days of the arms program, as well as the business-as-usual attitude which permitted large quantities of essential materials to be consumed in unnecessary civilian production. Basically, the shortages are due to poor coordination and lack of planning. But although responsibility for industrial planning rests with Donald Nelson, his ability to anticipate and prepare for tomorrow's needs clearly depends upon the United Nations' grand strategy for the war.

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THE SENATE PATENTS COMMITTEE WILL, WE hope, resist pressure from Under Secretary of War Patterson to "go easy" on its investigation into certain of our patent monopolies. It is more important than ever to throw the spotlight on every one of them, and to make sure that they are available for use in war production. Even in the field which has been most investigated—that of synthetic rubber patents—there is no ground for complacency. Du Pont is still keeping its neoprene patent to itself. Standard is doing likewise with butyl and under cover of the war program has succeeded in establishing a measure of control over Buna rubber that John W. Davis himself thought impossible and contrary to the anti-trust laws. We also hope that the committee will reject the feeble patents bill proposed to it by Thurman Arnold on behalf of the Department of Justice. We can hardly believe that this bill really embodies Arnold's views, and we feel compelled to attribute it to pressure within the Administration intended to tone down action against the patent monopolists. Instead of the lengthy legalistic rigmarole envisioned in the Arnold bill, we believe that there should be compulsory licensing of all patents, with the same right to seize patents as we have to draft men. And, somewhere, officials with the courage to use that power.

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JUKE BOXES AND RECORDED BROADCASTS have created some real problems for American musicians, but no solution is likely to be found until the players are represented by someone other than James Caesar Petrillo. It is unquestionably true that canned music in its several forms has cut down the number of jobs open to professional musicians and has lowered individual earnings. Some way should be found to distribute royalties so that orchestra members get more for records which make money for their owners than they get for those which merely entertain a household. But this will not be done by ukases from Mr. Petrillo barring members of the musicians' union from making new recordings. The most immediate effect, as Elmer Davis has pointed out, will be to cripple hundreds of small radio stations throughout the country which are invaluable to the nation as disseminators of news but which survive economically through the use of recorded music on sustaining programs. We could probably get along without juke boxes, but the fact is that they do afford amusement to a great many people who have few other ways of getting it, and in only a few places where they now perform could the management afford to replace them with even one tinny piano. What the musicians face is a difficult technological problem similar to those that have been faced by workers in many other industries. It will be solved partly by intelligent collective bargaining, partly by painful readjustment. Mr. Petrillo understands neither of these processes and until the musicians shelve this frock-coated symbol of labor racketeering, the public will not be lavish with its sympathy.

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A TOUCH OF THE LUDICROUS IS A SMALL price to pay for maintaining the traditions of American juridical procedure. Whatever the fate of the Nazi invaders who landed on our beaches in the middle of June we need not begrudge them the few extra weeks of life involved in giving them a more than fair trial. The niceties of jurisprudence, however, can be carried too far, and in this case the procedure was beginning to take on such overtones of fantasy that the Supreme Court's refusal to give the defendants standing in the civil courts came in the nick of time. If defense counsel was not so obviously in desperate straits it might almost be suspected of having sabotaged the prisoners' case, so fanciful were its contentions: the defendants were escaping from Germany; not counting several chests of choice explosives, they were unarmed; they had no intention of carrying out their orders; they were entitled to civil trial since the beaches where they landed were not theaters of war. Had the Supreme Court granted their petitions, American soldiers would have to go into battle with John Doe summonses in place of rifles and a round of subpoenas in their cartridge belts. But the Supreme Court held firm, and Ringling Brothers need not worry about having to turn Gargantua loose on a writ of habeas corpus.

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THE COWARDLY ATTACK ON WALDO FRANK in Buenos Aires was a typically fascist attempt to silence argument by violence. Mr. Frank himself has absolved the Argentine government of responsibility, but there is no doubt that it is morally responsible, both because of its statement declaring the noted American author *persona non grata* and because of its toleration of the fascist press which directly instigated the assault. The incident has aroused widespread indignation in Argentina and throughout Latin America, and it may have a healthy effect by drawing new attention to the pro-Axis character of the Castillo regime. But as Mr. Frank said, in an interview with *PM*, it should not be allowed to react against the Argentine people, who are badly misrepresented by their government.

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Three Ways to an All-Out Effort

WHATEVER action the President takes on the farm rubber bill, we hope that Congress will go on embodying its suggestions on war production in legislation. At the very least, bills like the farm rubber bill tend to call the attention of the White House to the need for drastic changes in the war-production setup. They exert much greater pressure on WPB officials than mere recommendations. And they serve, by informing the public, to prepare the way for what must some day be a fundamental reorganization in our present system of managing industry for war.

The capacity of WPB officials to ignore Congressional recommendations and to forget their own pledges of reform has shown itself in one instance after another. Three main criticisms have been made of the war-production effort, and these criticisms have been amply bulwarked with evidence elicited in a series of Congressional investigations, but nothing has been done about them. Where Knudsen was coldly contemptuous under an appearance of simplicity, Nelson has proved essentially indifferent under an appearance of agreement.

First among these criticisms is that an all-out effort will not be achieved so long as the industry and commodity branches of the WPB are largely in the hands of men who have a private interest in the industries or commodities under their jurisdiction. In hearings earlier this year before the Truman committee, Nelson and his chief subordinates, James S. Knowlson and Philip D. Reed, promised that no man would be allowed to pass on matters directly affecting his own company, but this has been so narrowly interpreted (and so frequently disregarded) as to have produced no real change in the situation. One of the oldest lessons of the war-production program is that steel men cannot be trusted to expand steel production, that automobile men cannot be trusted to force conversion of automobile plants to war purposes, and that aluminum monopolists cannot be trusted to tell us the truth about aluminum. Yet today a Ford man is head of the automotive branch, a director of Goodrich Rubber and the Rubber Manufacturers Association is head of the rubber branch, and a Mellon man is in charge of chemicals.

The second point is that an all-out effort cannot be achieved until we bring the smaller business men into the program. The war-production program today under Nelson is being operated by substantially the same big business men in whose hands it has been since the beginning. Newer men and older ideas—Higgins and mass production in shipbuilding, Kaiser and cargo planes, Publicker and rubber from grain alcohol—all find it difficult to make headway against this big-business bureaucracy. Until independent business men are represented in the program, we shall not get the fruits of genuine enterprise and we shall not be able to tap the idle resources in our smaller plants and mills.

The third point made again only recently in the Truman report on the Guthrie case, is that an all-out effort cannot be achieved without bringing labor directly into the war production program. In the NDAC and in the OPM, labor was represented by Hillman. In the WPB, there is no labor representation in the upper levels of the setup. Wendell Lund, the labor production head, is well intentioned and trying to do his best. But he is not a trade-union representative, and he was picked because the inside big-business crowd, with Hillman pushed out, didn't want a labor leader around. Yet labor proposals for increasing the output of steel and copper open new possibilities of overcoming the shortages of these materials. Labor's ideas often conflict with the customary and the most profitable ways of doing business. That does not make them any less useful in the war program.

Is Donald M. Nelson going to stop agreeing politely with everybody who talks to him? Is he going to substitute action for the appearance of action and make the essential changes? Or will it be necessary to find a new WPB head before we can hope for full war production?

A New Plan for Spain

OUR appeasers are planning a surprise which may be sprung any day now. Since failure has so far been the outcome of every attempt at appeasement, a surprise must necessarily be in the nature of a success, or at least an apparent success. And that is what certain persons in the London Foreign Office and in our own State Department are working for. Just one instance of successful appeasement would, in their minds, provide historic justification for a long succession of failures and expose leftists and non-conformists of all colors as irresponsible talkers without any sense of foreign affairs.

The plan, worked out quite recently in London and in Washington, has for its final objective the establishment of a new Spanish provisional government made up of six or seven generals which would prepare the way for the early return to Spain of Infante Don Juan, third son of the late King Alfonso and heir to the throne. Franco, it is agreed, would be confronted with an ultimatum from the army demanding that he dissociate himself from the Phalanx, but, as recompense, the plan provides that a place would be made for the Generalissimo in the new regime. The authors of the scheme hope for two happy results: the obvious advantages of a pro-Ally policy on the part of Spain and the beneficent

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influence on Latin America of a military-clerical Spanish government.

Two persons are said to have been primarily concerned with perfecting the new plan of appeasement: the Papal Nuncio in Madrid and the American Ambassador. In this maneuver may be found an explanation of the amazing speech delivered by Ambassador Hayes on July 30 in Barcelona in which he declared that "the United States understands Spain's position in the war." We wonder who in the United States "understands" it besides Mr. Hayes and some of his colleagues in the State Department and some members of the Catholic hierarchy. Surely not the people at large. For the policy of Franco and the speech of Hayes and the plan to establish a clerical-military reaction in Spain are all of one piece and all designed to disgust men and women who believe that we are fighting for the Four Freedoms.

Western Front—Talk and Reality

BY FREDA KIRCHWEY

THE worst thing that could happen to the United Nations would be the collapse of the Eastern front. That is admitted even by persons who deny the possibility of a Western front. Newspapers have almost dropped the habit of talking about a second front as a device to help "our hard-pressed Russian allies." More and more it is realized that the Russian front is our front, the Red Army our army, and the struggle along a thousand miles of blood-soaked Russian earth the only part of our war against Hitler that amounts to a row of shell holes.

If the Caucasus is lost, much more is lost than oil and territory. The Caucasus guards the entire Middle East from Nazi invasion. Even an Allied victory in Egypt would be meaningless with German armies driving through to the Persian Gulf and to the shores of the Mediterranean.

If the Caucasus is lost, or if the German army pushes down to the Caspian Sea, the central routes for the transportation of supplies into Russia will have been severed —the chief railway lines, the great inland waterways. Russia will not only have lost its own most valuable sources of oil and its most highly developed industries, it will have been cut off from all supplies from the outside world except such as can be convoyed through the dangerous northern sea route.

If the Eastern front collapses, the Nazis can send a hundred divisions to the West in case they choose to move in that direction. With no first front left in Russia, when could a second front be opened in Western Europe?

These desperate facts are known and accepted. There is really no debate about them. The unanswered questions are two: One, can Russia hold out if no help is available beyond that afforded by heavy Allied air-raids on Germany and Occupied Europe? And, second, if the chances are against Russian survival without a second front, is an effective invasion of the Continent possible?

Experts argue these questions over the air and in square miles of news print. Absolute disagreement is registered by responsible men who should have access to the same facts. But the general public, in America as in England, continues to demand a second front without regard to the calculations of officials or special writers. The demand is born of an instinctive feeling that inaction must again bring disaster, that risks must be taken even with the odds on the other side, that nothing could be worse in any case than the defeat of Russia.

Last week *The Nation* pointed out the obvious truth that the current clamor for a Western front is, in a sense, ex post facto. Either an invasion of the Continent has already been decided upon and planned to the last detail or no invasion can be launched in time to check the Nazi *drang nach Osten.* Either decisive action will be taken soon—within the next few weeks—or it will not be taken this year. So, from the point of view of practical advice, demands for a second front are all but senseless.

But advice is not the purpose of political agitation. And war is only partly a practical business involving amounts of equipment and plans of action. It is also a political—and therefore an emotional—business, a business involving the desires of men and the ambitions of leaders. The success of a given course of action may depend as much on these unpredictable sources of strength as on the slow, patient preparations that make possible the effective movement of planes and men, guns and tanks. A second front cannot be opened this summer as the result of public demand; but if a second is on the point of being opened its power will be multiplied by the popular desire, the sense of ardent participation, that has made itself manifest in recent weeks.

But if the passionate feeling of the people is a source of strength in time of action, it is a deadly threat if action is refused. The people believe that Roosevelt and Churchill promised a second front in 1942. The penalty for failure to keep that pledge would be too great for any politician to face; and the effect of such failure on the war effort here and in Britain and on Russia's fighting spirit would be beyond calculation. It is this obvious fact, more than the evidences of actual preparation, that leads me to believe a second front is going to be attempted. Public men as astute as the President and the British Prime Minister would never offer the people such broad promises, or allow popular feeling to rise to such heights if they did not mean to act. The demand for a second front is part of the preparation for a second front.

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Japan's Second Front

BY DONALD W. MITCHELL

ANY close observer of Japanese actions in the present war is at once impressed by two things: the marked ability of the Japanese to complete a definite plan successfully despite obstacles and losses, and the apparent uncertainty, lack of decisiveness, and opportunism once the basic plan has been worked out.

The first five months of Pacific warfare produced one of the fastest and most successful campaigns in history. Japan struck swiftly and powerfully at one objective after another, accepting occasional heavy losses and upsetting all its opponents' pre-arranged plans and time tables. But the days that followed the conquest of Burma have shown an entirely different picture. A Japanese fleet entered the Bay of Bengal, made threatening gestures at India, and did great damage before its retirement. Submarine and air raids have been conducted off the coasts of Australia. A strategically unsound attack was launched at our Hawaii-Midway area. China received increased attention and a Japanese submarine sank a Soviet merchant ship in the Sea of Okhotsk.

These tentative moves in many directions have led some military writers to the conclusion that Japan's purpose has been to mislead its opponents and thus mask its real intentions. While this may be partially true, it seems at least as likely that the Japanese, engaged in consolidating their gains, are "testing" the resistance at various prospective points of attack.

Whatever the motives, the process has already resulted in definite gains to the Japanese. It has caused the British to rush reinforcements to India, and the United States to employ its best general, a fair-sized body of troops, and desperately needed merchant shipping in Australia, an inactive theater of war and one very poorly adapted to serving as a base for offensive operations. However justified the move may have been from political and ethical standpoints, the diversion of large supplies to Australia has already been proved a strategic mistake.

After the Doolittle raid on Tokyo the Japanese shifted their main attention to China and started simultaneous offensives from several directions. But these gestures have recently weakened into what is mainly an attempt to take possession of air bases within bombing radius of Japan. Chinese resistance has been unexpectedly successful because—and this is important—Japanese divisions are now being diverted to Inner Mongolia and Manchukuo.

Since 1919 sporadic outbreaks have occurred between Russians and Japanese without bringing on war. But the success of Germany has introduced a new element into the situation. Japan may hesitate before taking so decisive a step as a full-fledged attack on the Soviet Union but, with Siberia weaker than it has been for some years, the common unreadiness of the two powers is no longer equal in degree. Police duties in its newly won empire employ only a small proportion of Japan's forces. India seems to have been abandoned as an immediate objective. Australia is probably not worth a major effort nor does it as yet offer any particular threat. The mid-Pacific has proved far too expensive. Japan apparently believes that China can wait. There remains, then, only Siberia.

Under normal conditions the Soviet Union enjoys an unusually favorable situation for offensive action in the Far East as compared to Japan. Bombers based at Vladivostok are in a position to raid virtually every major industrial center in the Japanese Empire. But much of this well-advertised advantage has been lost. At the time of Japan's entrance into the war the forces maintained on each side of the Manchukuoan-Siberian border were estimated at twenty-five divisions, or roughly 500,000 men. In both cases the troops were of excellent quality, with perhaps a slight advantage on the side of the Soviets, whose mechanized forces proved more than equal to their opponents in repeated frontier clashes. However, the ratio of these forces has undoubtedly changed. Japan has certainly diverted many of these border troops to its southern campaign, and the Russian reserves which last year repulsed the Germans before Moscow were Siberian troops. But the significant fact is that Japan is in a position to replace its border divisions while the Soviet Union is not.

The only information on the Soviet Far Eastern fleet is two years old and comes from the Japanese newspaper *Hochi,* which credits the Russians with 18 destroyers, 160 motor torpedo boats, and 70-odd submarines—a fairly formidable force in view of its closeness to Japan's centers but one which, due to its lack of heavy ships, would almost immediately have to yield command of the sea to Japan. There are probably 1,000 to 1,500 reasonably modern planes also available. Behind this front are lines of communication which are free from sea attack and reasonably safe from air raids but definitely vulnerable to attack by land.

Aside from the weakening effect of troop withdrawals, there is some danger that the ideal air base of Vladivostok could not be maintained for any length of time. Located at the very end of an extended peninsula, it can

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be supplied only by the long line of the Trans-Siberian Railway, a line which everywhere runs close to the borders of Manchukuo. Recognizing this vulnerability, the Soviets have developed several secondary bases farther north but these newer centers, farther from Japan, are naturally of much less offensive value.

The vast extent of the Soviet Far East in itself operates against complete or speedy conquest. Any adequate occupation would require months or even years. A weaker Red Army could if necessary retreat for some distance, pursuing a scorched earth policy, lengthening Japanese communication lines, and at the same time holding air bases from which to continue harassing the invader.

The significance of a second Russo-Japanese war to the United States is obvious. We have been urging the Russians to make their bases available to American bombers, but in an effort to placate Japan they have not only refused to allow the delivery of bombers for the European front via Alaska and Siberia but have even been unwilling to supply the technical information essential for full aid by this route. A new Siberian front would offer the hoped-for chance of bringing American troops to grips with the Japanese at the end of a much shorter transportation line than those now available. It would also provide an opportunity—the last and only good one we may have in the present war—to hit Japan hard by bombing from nearby bases.

Are we ready to take advantage of this opportunity? Not fully. The slowness of both the Canadian government and our own War Department has held up the building of a defense highway to Alaska which should be in use at the present moment. Air transportation and reinforcement by way of Alaska have been prevented by the Russians themselves.

A major proportion of troops and supplies, moreover, would have to go by ship and cross the North Pacific under heavy naval escort. Clashes with Japanese vessels would be frequent, and it is here that our services have been perhaps most at fault. The official Navy view that Japanese occupation of three barren Aleutian islands is not in itself a serious menace to the United States is substantially correct, since bases there are far from Alaska and much farther from the United States. But if we are to take any advantage of an additional land and air front, we have no right to allow our foes to occupy and consolidate positions along the route that would have to be followed by Pacific shipping. We should rather take steps to add to the security of this route by snatching the offensive away from Japan, by seizing and fortifying outposts in its own Kurile Islands. If we wait until the Siberian front has already been established, Japan will again determine our policy. We may then face the choice of abandoning an ally or taking an action which the enemy has already prepared to meet.

Who Is the State Department?

III. THE ASSISTANT SECRETARIAT

BY ROBERT BENDINER

ADOLF AUGUSTUS BERLE, JR., is the thinker of the State Department. He is its dreamer and its boldest planner. When Welles and Roosevelt agreed to make him an Assistant Secretary, despite the somewhat hostile indifference of Cordell Hull, they did not expect the subjects allotted to his post (finance, Canada, Greenland, and aviation) to occupy more than a corner of his brilliant, if unpredictable, mind. At forty-three Berle had amassed an impressive record. Son of a liberal Boston minister with marked ideas on child training, he had gotten off to a lightning start, emerging from Harvard with honors at the age of eighteen and from its law school at twenty-one, with a year out for his master's degree. After a brief apprenticeship with Brandeis he had spent a year in military intelligence work and wound up his war service as Wilson's adviser on Russian affairs at the Versailles Conference. He was then all of twenty-three. Corporation law, writing, and academic work in the fields of law and finance occupied him until the election of Roosevelt, who first made him financial adviser to the American embassy in Cuba and, later, special counsel to the Reconstruction Finance Corporation. A term as chamberlain in the New York municipal government preceded his appointment to the State Department.

Berle was a natural choice for a post in the New Deal. He had long since discarded the Brandeis doctrine, and in "The Modern Corporation and Private Property," written with Gardiner Means, he accepted "bigness" as the essence of the corporate era. The solution to the problem of maldistribution, the authors agreed, lay not in the breaking up of giant business and financial structures but in strict government controls over management. By virtue of the wide distribution of corporate stocks, management had replaced ownership in the control of industry, they wrote, without retaining the checks and responsibilities that ownership had formerly imposed. While

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Berle went farther than most New Dealers in urging a concentration of power in the hands of government, his book unquestionably pointed the way to such controls as the Securities and Exchange Commission.

Little of Berle's importance in the department stems from his assigned areas of operation. Alone among the Assistant Secretaries he takes part in the major councils on foreign policy. He is also chief drafting officer of the department. More than any other individual, he frames the statements of policy which eventually appear, usually in drastically altered form, over the signatures of the Secretary or even the President. Most of the messages that were frantically dispatched to Europe's rulers in the days leading up to the debacle at Munich, and again in August 1939, were drafted by Berle.

A. A. Berle, Jr.

Another task adopted by Berle, and reputedly dear to his heart, is supervision of the department's informal intelligence service. On intimate terms with J. Edgar Hoover, with whom he exchanges information, Berle has himself taken to playing the G-man in a small way. One highly place envoy on leave, incensed at having his mail opened and secretly photostated, went to the length of taking quarters in another government building rather than expose himself to this zealous departmental snooping. American travelers returning from wartime Europe are questioned at La Guardia Field by naval intelligence men concerning their activities abroad. In one instance an arrival protested that he was on his way to Washington and would divulge his information to the proper authorities. He was asked point blank whether he would see Berle and on giving an affirmative answer was permitted to pass. It has even been charged that Berle has agents in other government departments. This cannot be proved but it is known that he keeps a sharp eye on liberal and radical movements and has kept many an anti-fascist refugee from getting a visa on the faint suspicion that he might be tainted with Stalinism.

Overflow work from the Welles desk, particularly on Latin American affairs, occupies a good deal of Berle's attention. As Counselor to the Embassy in Havana in 1933, he supported Welles in the Cespedes affair, and, like Hull and Welles, he is impressed with the extreme importance of hemispheric cooperation. But he too sees unity in terms of political negotiation with governments rather than through a more fundamental appeal to the people of the hemisphere. Thus he viewed the seizure of St. Pierre and Miquelon not as a victory for the forces of democracy, but rather as a technical contravention of the Act of Havana, even though the move accorded perfectly with the spirit of that agreement to keep the Axis out of the Americas.

Berle manages so well to combine this formalistic approach in action with the most eloquent flights of theory that he frequently serves as the department's interpreter to liberals of all shades. He is accessible, cordial, and free with his time, and his wide-ranging conversation is fascinating as an intellectual exercise. Berle's mind is much occupied with the post-war world, particularly America's economic demobilization, which he believes will have to be as carefully regulated and financed by the government as the mobilization has been if we are to avoid a catastrophe. He has not allowed his enthusiastic hostility to Communism and Communists to blind him to the necessity for wholehearted cooperation with the Soviet Union for the duration—and perhaps even after. Similarly, a more than faint anti-British bias had to be doused when war came.

Not of the rich stock that characterizes the department, Berle married into the Bishop family, resting on the bedrock of New York real estate and substantial enough to make the Social Register. The Berles are not prominent in the social life of the capital though they do considerable entertaining in Latin American diplomatic circles.

Socialistically minded liberals who rejoiced when Berle was appointed to the department have long since ceased to regard him as a champion. More than four years after his appointment to the post, Berle has left no mark on the course of American foreign policy. On the contrary, that policy has left a mark on him. Intimacy with great events seems to have developed in him a scorn for the idealism of his old friends and a sense of infallibility which has won him few new ones. The man who, by his own admission, went into the department "on condition that I could do some dreaming" before long became the overly shrewd diplomat who fully indorsed the appeasement of Japan, who saw the problem of Vichy solely in "military" terms, without regard for the implications of political warfare, who schemed along with his colleagues to buy Franco and Pétain with food, credits, and diplomatic favors. It was Berle who in the days preceding Munich urged that we should not be "swung off base by either diplomacy or emotion." Alsop and Kintner, in their quasi-official "American White Paper," quote a memorandum by Berle pleading "for the most hard-headed—even cold-hearted—approach to the Czecho-Slovak question."

Passionately opposed to the materialism of the Marxists but still believing in some vague form of socialism, convinced of the need for strong government controls over the national economy, and attracted to the play of

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power politics, Berle inspires doubt on all sides. People admire his brilliance, his potency in argument, the broad perspectives that he brings to the department; but he does not command the confidence that would be accorded a steadier, if less glittering, mind.

II

None of those complexities of character which make Berle the Great Anomaly of the department afflict the Assistant Secretary next in line. The Breckinridges of Kentucky and the Longs of Virginia combined to make in him a Democrat of the old school, a politician of pure and simple lines who strayed into the State Department by chance instead of going to Congress by way of the Missouri State Legislature. Born in St. Louis sixty-one years ago, Breckinridge Long came East to Princeton at the turn of the century. He studied under Wilson, and the connection proved fruitful. Returning to St. Louis to practice law, Long married Christine Graham, a granddaughter of the General Blair who had held Missouri in line for the Union and a daughter of the rich paper-manufacturing Graham family. Out of his wife's ample fortune Long contributed generously to the Wilson campaigns and found himself in 1917 as third Assistant Secretary of State (the Assistants were ranked in those days). The Republican victory of 1920 eased him out of office, and, like Hull, to whom he had become attached and who had likewise been buried under the Harding landslide, he joined the party machine. An ardent League of Nations champion, he contested the party's Senatorial nomination with Jim Reed in 1922 and lost. Long's ardor for the League, incidentally, was not enduring. To conciliate American isolationists, he successfully fought the transfer of the League's International Labor Office to the United States when the war broke out, and the ILO ultimately found haven in Canada.

After the Senatorial defeat the Longs bought a racing stable and an estate near Washington and settled down to become leaders in the ultra-fashionable social set of the capital. While waiting for a turn in the political tide, Long continued to contribute to the party's campaign chests and remained in close touch with its leaders. As one of the Wilson-House group, he had come to know Franklin D. Roosevelt and in 1932 he backed the New York governor against the opposition of the group headed by Newton D. Baker. At Chicago he served as Roosevelt's floor manager and again contributed sizably to the campaign fund. The President, whether or not he regards Long highly as a statesman, retains a personal fondness for him as an old friend and supporter and as a convivial fellow.

It was inevitable that with Roosevelt elected and Hull installed as Secretary of State, Long should come into his reward. Just as Berle came in as a Welles man—only to break sharply with him—so Long reentered the department as the Secretary's man and has always been scorned by Welles. He was sent to Italy and soon appeared to forget his worship of Jefferson in his admiration for Mussolini. Long burned the cables with advice to his government not to invoke oil sanctions against Italy, and when his counsel prevailed and the democracies had given the first great proof of their unwillingness to contest the advance of the fascist states, he told Louis Fischer that he was very happy because he had "helped avert a European war."

Long's role in blocking oil sanctions was grounded on more than a fear that Il Duce would declare war in retaliation. The Ambassador was so attracted to the regime that he could even speak of the Ethiopian victory as the "fruitful harvest of Mussolini's enterprise." In the summer of 1936 he resigned, ostensibly for reasons of health, though it was hinted at the time that his indiscreet approbation of Il Duce's "enterprise" might have had something to do with his return to Washington.

For three years Long worked intermittently at odd jobs in private life. One of these, strangely enough in the light of his subsequent efforts to obtain help for Franco, was a fruitless lobbying campaign to lift the Spanish embargo, undertaken at the behest of pro-Loyalist organizations at a handsome fee.

In matters of policy Long does not rate as an important figure in the department. Since his freely offered assurances that Mussolini was too smart to get sucked into the war he has been chary of offering political advice. Until the spring of 1941 he was chairman of the Board of Foreign Service Personnel, but his most conspicuous task as Assistant Secretary, before the United States entered the war, was the supervision of Avra Warren's Visa Division. And the record of that division ranks as a monument of ineptitude and callousness.

Breckinridge Long

It is impossible here to review the scandalous story of the department's handling of the refugee problem, but it is noteworthy that some of the most ardent official defenders of appeasement grow apologetic over this aspect of the department's record. The ultimate failure of the refugee policy does not lie primarily in the number of victims admitted. That has been woeful enough, to be sure, but here the role of Congress cannot be ignored, nor can a badly informed public opinion. The

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department's policy had deeper defects than the numerical: its essence lay in the systematic discrimination that was practiced against all those who had in any organized fashion dared to oppose the tyranny of fascism. It was not that the department favored fascism but merely that it distrusted anyone who was vocal in opposing that curse of the twentieth century, the flat assumption being that the dissident must be a radical. As a result, the crudest tests of political conservatism were applied and the most endangered victims were in all too many cases the ones least likely to be admitted.

Among the consuls—ultimately responsible to Mr. Long in the matter of visas—prejudice, indifference, and maddening red tape were the order of the day. Officials like Ogden Hammond, Jr., in Vienna, Leland B. Morris in Berlin, and James B. Stewart in Zurich were openly charged with anti-Semitism. When complaints were filed with Long, he is said to have admitted that anti-Semitism existed in the service, but no action of any kind was taken against these outer guardians of American democracy. Long, moreover, opposed any congressional change in the quotas themselves, and Warren was given to boasting of how he had reduced the issuance of visas to a minimum.

The Department has always been quick to explain that great care had to be taken to protect the country from fascist agents in the guise of refugees. Fascists without disguise, however, had little trouble getting in. No suspicion attached to Pierre Massin, for example, although he had financed the rise of the virulent Jacques Doriot and although, as he was at no pains to conceal, he was in good standing with German officials in Paris. John Makkai, a Hungarian of the same stripe, was admitted with similar ease. So was Armand Gregoire, a French fascist who had even made a quick visit to Germany three weeks before he got the visa that enabled him to come here to "study law." But the young son of the former Foreign Minister of the Spanish Republic was denied a visa because his father's past was suspect in the eyes of Avra Warren and Breckinridge Long. And Free French aviators were even refused permission to cross American territory on their way to Canadian training fields.

Even as a bureaucrat Long has little to recommend him. Whatever the President may owe him for political services rendered, his status as an Assistant Secretary of State comes under the head of Presidential luxuries.

III

A newcomer to the department and something of a stranger to its traditions is Assistant Secretary Dean G. Acheson. His appointment early in 1941 was hailed as an attempt by the President to inject fresh corpuscles into the sluggish bloodstream of the department, perhaps to compensate for Berle's failure to live up to expectations. It is still too early to predict the success or failure of the operation. Mildly progressive in his personal views, Acheson would hardly rate as a fire-eater in other agencies of the government. His education (Groton-Yale-Harvard) is in the best State Department tradition and his social and financial status compares favorably with that of most of his colleagues. His previous experience in the Roosevelt Administration was a brief tenure in the post of Under Secretary of the Treasury in 1933. Berated as a "sound money man," he resigned after six months and returned to his private law practice in the capital.

Acheson's reputation as a liberal stems in part from the fact that he was a protégé of Brandeis and for two years served as the Justice's secretary. More than that, he has been outstandingly sympathetic on the refugee issue, he and his wife having even arranged parties for the benefit of the Emergency Rescue Committee. Acheson's firm—Covington, Burling, Rublee, Acheson and Shorb—has acted as Washington counsel for a wide range of corporations and causes. He appeared before the United States Supreme Court as attorney for the Ethyl Corporation, owned jointly by Du Pont and Standard Oil of New Jersey, but before the same court he also argued the New York minimum wage case.

Acheson has always favored the more militant aspects of the President's foreign policy, and his private condemnation of his colleagues' conduct in the affair of St. Pierre and Miquelon was spirited in the extreme. On the other hand, his own militancy left something to be desired on the occasion of the department's fight against the Gillette-Coffee resolution. This measure, proposed in the summer of 1941, called for an investigation of the leak of American supplies to the Axis countries. Acheson was chosen to present the department's case to a Congressional committee, and the case he made was the same mess of contradictions which the department had been serving up long before his arrival on the scene. In the words of I. F. Stone, he argued "that disclosure of the facts would be unwise; that the facts are already disclosed in Department of Commerce reports; that exports to countries friendly to the Axis are being carefully watched; that, of course, although they are being carefully watched, there is no way of being sure supplies are not being forwarded to the Axis; that one must be careful in shutting off supplies to countries friendly to the Axis because that would make them friendly to the Axis." The argument may have lacked logic but, coming from a recently appointed interventionist, it was taken as a sign that the President opposed the resolution, which was promptly abandoned. Viewed either as Acheson's own convictions or as a first painful surrender, the performance was not promising. It is possible, of course, that Acheson was simply made the departmental goat on

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this occasion and that better things are to be expected from him.

IV

The most recently appointed of the Assistant Secretaries is the one who has been longest in the service, in fact the only real career man among them, Gardiner Howland Shaw. A scholar and a deeply religious man, Shaw is less political than any other high official in the department. Personnel is his chief concern, and although he has been in charge too short a time to make any kind of record, he conveys the impression of being genuinely eager to abandon the snobbish standards of the department. Independently wealthy himself and equipped with the standard Boston-Harvard background, Shaw diverges sharply from the usual pattern. Aloof from Washington society, he leads an austere bachelor existence, giving much of his wealth and time to penal reform and to charities for children. His social philosophy centers about a kind of religious humanism. "Where American ideals are concerned," he once wrote in *Commonweal,* "there has so far been no New Deal," and he counsels his readers to turn inward and cultivate the "ideal of success based upon the interior life." In the scheming world of the State Department it is a bit of a shock to come upon the advice that "we can learn from a Lord Grey of Fallodon who found it possible to study birds and enjoy the poetry of Wordsworth while at the same time carrying the heaviest of burdens as Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, or a Monsieur Herriot who has written a biography of Beethoven in the midst of an arduous and distinguished political career, or a Kenneth Grahame, who successfully combined important duties at the Bank of England and the authorship of a series of particularly delightful books for children." If Mr. Shaw's gentle philosophy does not especially equip him to confront Axis thuggery on the diplomatic front, neither does it stand in the way of his being a capable administrator and, as a judge of personnel, a vast improvement over his predecessor, Breckinridge Long.

[*The concluding article of this series, to appear in the next issue, will tell "Why the Cow Is Sacred"—why a fighting President conciliates a department so frequently at odds with his fundamental purposes.*]

Two-Way Stretch

BY SUZANNE LA FOLLETTE

NOW that all good citizens have ransacked their premises from attic to garage in search of rubber to be salvaged for the war effort, a few notes on replacements seem to be in order. The shortage of rubber is so acute and has been so widely publicized that those who have parted with articles not easily spared may possibly not realize that as yet there appear to be few rubber gadgets (except tires and tubes) that one need do without. Tires and tubes, as everyone knows, have been frozen for months. Everyone knows, too, that confiscation of those now in use has been hinted more than once by government spokesmen as a not impossible step, and that there is constant talk of nation-wide gasoline rationing to force conservation of tires. But rubber—rubber for comfort, convenience, beautification, amusement—is still to be had at modest prices and in large quantity in the usual over-the-counter transactions, without a by-your-leave to Mr. Henderson, Mr. Nelson, or any other official gainsayer.

I propose to furnish a sort of guide to replacements of rubber articles donated for reclamation. It will not be complete. The rubber shortage being what it is, patriotism and economy dictated a halt in my researches when they had worn the second pair of rubber heels down to the leather.

One word of warning. These researches were completed in late July, 1942, a little more than seven months after Pearl Harbor, five months after the fall of Singapore, and four months after the fall of the Dutch East Indies. We have lost access to 90 per cent of the world's supply of raw rubber, and our stocks are dwindling. I am told that most of the rubber goods now available were on hand or on order by January 1, and when they are exhausted there will be few or no replacements.

If you have responded to the appeal for rubber by donating the very erasers out of your pencils, you need not cross out the misspelled word. You can still buy plenty of new pencils, with the usual erasers. Or you can buy slip-on erasers, containing only a little more rubber than those you donated, which will enable you to use up the old pencils with no inconvenience. There are also the usual large separate erasers in harder and softer rubber, adapted to all needs. And if you have reluctantly tossed your typewriter eraser into the salvage container, you will not be forced to pay for your generosity by becoming more accurate. You will find plenty more, either with or without the little attached brush.

Broken nails need not be the price for parting with your rubber typewriter keys, for these can be replaced. And you need not waste another minute tying and untying knots of string because you have donated all your rubber bands. These are on sale in opulent variety, from

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OUR RUBBER SITUATION

1942

SUPPLY

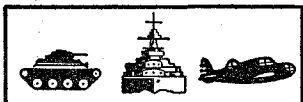
TOTAL STOCKS JANUARY 1st. 693,000 TO.

CRUDE RUBBER IMPORTS 434,000 TO.

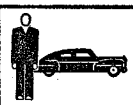
SYNTHETIC RUBBER PRODUCTION 30,000 TONS

TOTAL SUPPLY 1,157,000 TONS

DEMAND



ARMED FORCES: LEND-LEASE 307,000 TO.



CIVIL CONSUMPTION 150,000 TO.

TO NON-AXIS COUNTRIES 198,000 TO.

CARRY-OVER

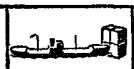
502,000 TONS

TOTAL DEMAND 655,000 TONS

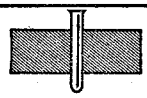
1943

SUPPLY

FROM CARRY-OVER 502,000 TO.



CRUDE RUBBER IMPORTS 135,000 TO.

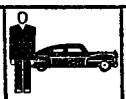


SYNTHETIC RUBBER PRODUCTION 350,000 TO.

TOTAL SUPPLY 987,000 TONS

DEMAND

ARMED FORCES: LEND-LEASE 463,000 TO.



CIVIL CONSUMPTION 124,000 TO.

TO NON-AXIS COUNTRIES 198,000 TO.

CARRY-OVER

202,000 TONS

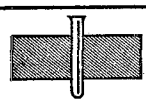
TOTAL DEMAND 785,000 TONS

1944

SUPPLY

FROM CARRY-OVER 202,000 TO.

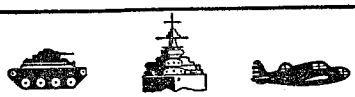
CRUDE RUBBER IMPORTS 98,000 TO.



SYNTHETIC RUBBER PRODUCTION 800,000 TO.

TOTAL SUPPLY 1,100,000 TONS

DEMAND



ARMED FORCES: LEND-LEASE 463,000 TO.

U. S. CIVILIANS 124,000 TO.

TO NON-AXIS COUNTRIES 198,000 TO.

CARRY-OVER

315,000 TONS

TOTAL DEMANDS 785,000 TONS

GRAPHIC BY PICK-S

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the three-inch loop which you tried to stretch to eighteen, to the loop which measures a good eighteen inches without stretching.

You can also replace the little rubber sponge in its glass dish, which you bravely decided to do without. Or if you prefer to moisten your envelopes with those bits of rubber sponge ingeniously set in a smooth rubber holder fitted into a glass tube, you may have those instead. You will find rubber date stamps, and your stationer will still make up special rubber stamps to order.

The woman addicted to the rubber makeup pad need not be torn between her desire to be beautiful and her impulse to be patriotic. She can indulge both by tossing the old pad onto the salvage heap and replacing it with enough new ones for a long duration. The Goodyear company puts out an "automatic compact" called "Vic-tex," ingeniously fashioned from two round pieces of fine rubber sponge welded together at the edges, with an opening on one side through which powder can be inserted. Other aids to beauty are rubber complexion brushes, rubber curlers in fascinating variety, and ingenious rubber rollers which will hold your locks firmly in an eight or nine-inch roll on the back of your neck without benefit of hairpins.

Rubber bathing shoes are still to be had, as well as rubber-soled sneakers; also a perfect rainbow of rubber shower caps and bathing caps. One ingenious cap of very thin rubber comes compressed into a little ball tied up in a cellophane bag, and is so stretchy that it can be draped to taste. Many shops carry rubber-lined beach bags; and you can still find the inflatable rubber fish and swans and water balls that children and grown-ups like to take in swimming.

In these days when you are walking to save rubber, it will be a comfort to know that the supply of rubber heels and soles is holding up well. Like rubber stoppers and numerous other household articles, these are of reclaimed rubber, use of which by manufacturers was unrestricted until a couple of months ago. You can still buy the elastic bands which relieve the strain on arches and ankles. Elastic may still be had by the yard, too, in all the usual widths.

The corset makers are experimenting with new materials in the effort to secure flexibility and elasticity without rubber. But the customer need not experiment—yet. The elastic girdle is by no means a thing of wistful memory; nor is the girdle of pure rubber. Garment grippers of "live rubber" will keep blouse and skirt, or shirt and trousers, from parting company.

The variety of gadgets for the home is bewildering. You will be able to replace the rubber mat with its little suction cups, which kept you from breaking your neck in the shower. You can also buy the spongy kind, in an assortment of pretty colors. You can buy rubber covers for your bathroom shelves, and rubber-coated racks for your towels. The supply of rubber bath sponges holds up well. Indeed, in a certain de luxe five-and-ten I found the great granddaddy of all rubber sponges, intended for your car, but also recommended for your person. Weight, five ounces; price, twenty-five cents, which is cheap at a time when your morning paper tells you day after day that every ounce of rubber is precious.

Rubber mats are not confined to the needs of the bath. There are mats to protect the top of your stove, to place before the door or the sink; round utility mats in several sizes. You can buy rubber-coated dish drainers and plate racks, rubber faucet sprays and faucet connections, door-knob covers, toilet-seat bumpers, toilet-box plungers, holders for deodorant. There are rubber-insulated domes of silence, rubber cups for the feet of chairs and sofas, rubber tips for chair legs, bumper tacks, floor stoppers, suction cups, candle fitters, fly swatters, wedges for doors and windows. The supply of extension cords and plugs seems endless. Rubber covered flashlights can still be had. You can even buy electric fans with rubber blades into which the children can thrust their hands with impunity.

The children need not yet forego their rubber toys—animals and dolls that squeak, rubber balls, rubber-tired toy automobiles and planes large enough to ride in. One super-de luxe roadster has pneumatic tires perhaps an eighth the size of those you placed on the salvage heap. Bicycles, tricycles, and scooters are purchasable, all rubber tired, and doll carriages large enough to hold the baby. Balloons are plentiful, and toss-ups in amusing forms, from bunny rabbits to an image of your Uncle Sam with the slogan "Remember Pearl Harbor" neatly lettered across his lower limbs.

This should give you a fair idea of the myriad articles of need, comfort, convenience, and luxury still freely available in the scarcest of our strategic materials. I have left out rubber for therapeutic uses. One must stop somewhere; and besides such articles have priority ratings.

While you are replacing your garden hose with "victory hose" of rubber-lined fabric, or buying your winter goloshes or some new toys for the children, you may feel like picking up something for the salvage heap. I learn that as yet the government has made no move to secure retail stocks of rubber for the war effort. Perhaps the experts attach no importance to them, but the mere layman finds them impressive when he remembers that imports have practically ceased. Indeed, he can't help reflecting that military uses, added to civilian uses exclusive of tires and tubes, must be putting quite a two-way stretch on our rubber stock pile. A "buy-rubber-for-salvage" week might help. I would gladly open it by donating my five-ounce rubber automobile sponge. I only bought it to find out how much it weighed. An automobile sponge isn't really of much use when your car has no tires.

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Everybody's Business

BY KEITH HUTCHISON

Targets for Tonight

WE ARE all becoming painfully familiar with the term *logistics*—"that branch of the military art," to quote my dictionary, "which embraces the details of transport and supply." We know how much the United Nations are handicapped by the fact that their main industrial centers are separated by wide seas from the fighting fronts, making the shipping shortage our No. 1 bottleneck. Hitler, on the other hand, with his supply bases in the midst of a compact land mass, can use lines of communication corresponding to the radii of a circle, and in all his major campaigns he has had available a highly developed network of railroads and highways.

Nevertheless, it is well to remember that, despite these geographical advantages, Hitler is also suffering from logistics trouble. His transport facilities were never adequate for a long war and after three years of campaigning they are strained to the utmost, so that a scientifically designed bombing offensive aimed at the weakest links may well throw the whole system into confusion. From the beginning the R. A. F. in its raids on Germany and German occupied territory has always regarded transport as among its major objectives. How often we have read of the bombing of Hamm, the site of enormous freight marshaling yards! And the constant attacks on Bremen and Hamburg are designed not merely to destroy factories, warehouses, and shipyards but to render these ports unusable for shipping.

Leaving aside air transport, which the Nazis have used very effectively but which at present cannot be relied upon for mass movements of men and freight, Germany has four interlocking systems of communication—sea-shipping, inland waterways, roads, and railroads. Before the war, a great deal of the trade between Germany and its allied countries was carried on by sea. Coal exports from the Ruhr to Italy went by barge to Rotterdam and were there transferred to ships sailing through the Straits of Gibraltar. Oil from Rumania, ores and agricultural products from the Balkans, were brought to Germany by sea. Now this traffic must move, if at all, by the Danube or by rail and the task of transporting even a bare minimum of coal to Italy by rail monopolizes a large number of locomotives and freight cars.

Sea routes were also important for inland trade. Coal and heavy manufactures from the Rhineland used to move by sea through the Kiel Canal to East Prussia, which sent return cargoes of grain and potatoes. At the beginning of the war the combined German and Italian merchant marine, including all vessels over 100 tons, totaled 7.9 million tons. Up to the end of last year the British claimed that they had captured, sunk, or severely damaged no less than 5.225 million tons of Axis shipping. This far exceeds the estimated new construction in Germany and Italy together with tonnage captured in occupied countries. The possibilities of sea transport, therefore, are now severely restricted. Ships creeping down the North Sea coast are constantly attacked by British planes and naval units and even the Baltic has become so dangerous that almost all the ferry services to Denmark and Sweden have recently been discontinued.

Germany has five important navigable rivers—the Rhine, Elbe, Ems, Oder, and Danube—linked together by an extensive canal system. While preparing for the war, the Nazis did much to improve these waterways and this policy has undoubtedly paid them dividends. But there are many signs that the system has become congested in its efforts to relieve the overburdened railroads. Last winter orders went forth that certain classes of freight must be dispatched only by water, but not long after another order forbade the use of the Danube system for short hauls. Inland waterways offer some tempting bombing targets. The recent plastering of Duisburg, the greatest inland port in Europe, has undoubtedly put a severe crimp in its shipping activities. Regensburg on the Danube, the transshipment post for Rumanian oil, is probably high on the R. A. F.'s priority list of places to be visited when the nights are longer. And the new aqueduct which carries the Mittelland Canal over the Elbe near Madgeburg certainly merits some high explosives.

In the pre-war period, super-highways were Hitler's favorite public works, and many people believe that they represent one of his most serious errors, for gas and rubber shortages greatly restrict their use in war. Road traffic in Germany now is confined to short hauls and can make only a minor contribution to the solution of transport problems.

While road building boomed railroads were neglected. As early as 1938 they were operating at near capacity, and an official report that year spoke of the urgent need for 100,000 new freight cars. In his recent book, "Will Germany Crack?" Paul Hagen provides much evidence of the overstrained condition of the railroad system and reports numerous accidents, some due no doubt to sabotage, but many caused by defective material. Lack of efficient lubricants, in particular, has led to the rapid deterioration of rolling stock.

From its western conquests Germany was able to loot 2,500 locomotives and 150,000 freight cars, which alleviated for a time the transportation crisis. But the Russian campaign has multiplied the strain on the railroads without producing any similar compensation. The Red Army left little equipment behind, and German locomotives proved unable to stand up to the Russian winter as Hitler himself has admitted. Moreover the Eastern campaign so drained reserves of rolling stock that un-

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necessary passenger travel has been made a crime, and cities like Berlin are short of vital coal and food because supplies cannot be moved. Yet if a second front is established, the German railroads must shoulder the task of rushing reinforcements from the east. That is why British fighter planes are now peppering every locomotive they can catch and why intensive bombing of every junction, major railroad bridge, freight yard, and repair shop that can be reached is an essential prelude to an Anglo-American invasion of the continent.

[*Keith Hutchison will be on vacation during August but will resume Everybody's Business in September.*]

In the Wind

THE FIGHTING FRENCH may go on occupying St. Pierre and Miquelon but the American State Department has neither forgotten nor forgiven. M. Alain Savary, present Administrator of the islands, arrived recently in Montreal intending to proceed from there to Washington and New York for consultation with De Gaullists in this country. He has been informed by the American consul that his application for a visa has been rejected on orders from Washington.

AMERICAN TROOPS in Great Britain who now know enough to avoid using the word "bloody" in mixed company can thank Eric Knight, the novelist, for their education in British usage. Mr. Knight, it turns out, is the author of the unsigned and excellent "Guide to Britain" provided for the enightenment of the A. E. F.

TWO NEW COMMITTEES have sprung up to fill crying needs in American life. One is established to commemorate the 100th anniversary of the appearance of the first greeting card. The other is the National Hallowe'en Committee, which feels that because of the war "this year, more than ever, there is certain to be great activity centered around the traditional Hallowe'en celebration."

FUNDAMENTAL CONTRIBUTION to the social sciences by Gill Robb Wilson, president of the National Aeronautic Association: "I hold that air commerce properly belongs in the category of free private enterprise since it can if properly fostered by Government sustain itself on the profit motive and provide social security for the quota of society therein engaged."

THE TROTSKYITE PAPER, the *Militant,* has published a letter from a German underground worker asserting that several Trotskyists in the Reich early in 1941 learned of the coming attack on Russia and informed the Soviet Embassy. Their information, which is said to have included even the names of the divisions to be used, was taken into account in the Soviets' preparedness plans.

[*We invite our readers to submit material for In the Wind. A prize of $5 will be awarded each month for the best item,* —EDITORS THE NATION.]

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ACCORDING to Professor Renner's "geo-political" map of post-war Europe, Hungary has been permanently handed over to Germany.

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Mr. Vambery's booklet, part of which appeared in *Foreign Affairs,* shows how the Magyar people *can* escape from the domination of the semi-feudal military dictators of their country. Since Hungary's central position in southern Europe and the social structure of the Magyar population lend the Hungarian problem more than local importance, Mr. Vambery believes that only a Danubian Federation, as suggested in this booklet, offers an adequate solution of the Hungarian problem if it is to be solved in the interest of the Hungarian people and the future peace of Europe.

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BOOKS and the ARTS

One Morning the World Woke Up

BY OSCAR WILLIAMS

One morning the world woke up and there was no news;
No gun was shelling the great ear drum of the air,
No Christian flesh spurted beneath the subtle screws,
No moaning came from the many agony-faced Jews,
Only the trees in a gauze of wind trembled and were fair.

No trucks climbed into the groove of an endless road,
No tanks were swaying drunken with death at the hilltop,
No bombs were planting their bushes of blood and mud,
And the aimless tides of unfortunates no longer flowed:
A break in the action at last . . . all had come to a stop.

Those trees danced, in their delicate selves half furled
And a new time on the glittering atmosphere was seen;
The lightning stuttering on the closed eyelid of the world
Was gone, and an age of horizons had dawned, soft, pearled,
The world woke up to a scene like spring's first green.

Birds chirped in waterfalls of little sounds for hours,
Rainbows, in miniature nuggets, were stored in the dews,
The sky was one vast moonstone of the tenderest blues,
And the meadows lay carpeted in three heights of flowers:
One morning the world woke up and there was no news.

Two Studies of Appeasement

WITH JAPAN'S LEADERS. By Frederick Moore. Charles Scribner's Sons. $2.75.

JAPAN RIDES THE TIGER. By Willard Price. The John Day Company. $2.50.

BOOKS about our enemy in the Far East continue to come off the presses. The publishers are inspired perhaps by the desire to provide badly needed information to a reading public which has been subsisting on an unbalanced European diet and by the hope that one of them may succeed in puncturing American apathy.

The reader of Frederick Moore's book is bound to suspect that the author desired to explain and apologize for his long service to the Japanese government. In a frank autobiographical account, the more convincing for its naivete, Mr. Moore recalls his fourteen years as counselor to the Japanese government, a period which came to an ugly end on December 7 when he found himself in the unenviable position of being employed by the Japanese Embassy in Washington while bombs were falling on Pearl Harbor. There was little idealism in Mr. Moore's decision to work for the Japanese, who paid him $500 a month plus 10,000 yen a year, as he stated in his report to the State Department, with which he was registered as a Japanese agent. His employment was not legally improper, but to many persons his support of the Japanese cause through these years, when he knew so much of their aims and methods, will appear morally and intellectually questionable.

Mr. Moore recalls with justifiable pride that when he was stationed in Peking as a news correspondent he cabled to this country the first reports of the notorious "twenty-one demands" which Japan made on China in 1915. Did these mean nothing more to him than news stories? Japanese treachery and aggressive intentions were fully exposed at that time and were revealed again during the Paris Peace Conference in 1919, which Mr. Moore also covered as a news correspondent; yet with full knowledge of these things he went to work for them in 1921 as "adviser on international affairs."

Had Mr. Moore limited himself to purely technical work, such as correcting the faulty English of official communications translated from the Japanese, he would have been no more at fault than numerous other foreigners employed by the Japanese. But in serving the Japanese as an "adviser," which covered everything from making contacts for Japanese officials to hiring a butler for the ambassador, Mr. Moore acted as an apologist for Japanese aggression. In 1932 he joined his friend Yosuke Matsuoka, whom Secretary Hull later called "as crooked as a basket of fishhooks"—I personally had occasion to learn in Tokyo that this was an understatement—in defense of Japan's invasion of Manchuria before the League of Nations. "I felt that Japan had considerable arguments to present to the League, and I was glad to be of assistance to her government," he writes. In March, 1932, during a discussion at the Institute for Far Eastern Affairs at the American University in Washington, he presented one of his "arguments." He suggested that the Japanese could defend China from Russia!

Mr. Moore explains in his book that he defended Japan because "Western peoples were not warranted in denouncing the nation for imperialism that was relatively limited compared with the imperialisms of Britain, France, and Russia." This was a view of international affairs that fitted in nicely with Japanese propaganda.

Mr. Moore, however, did more than justify Japanese aggression. He made a serious effort to restrain American intervention in the Far East at a time when we might have been able to check the Japanese without recourse to arms. At a Town Hall discussion in New York in 1937, the year in which the Japanese started the "China incident," Mr. Moore urged an American policy of strict neutrality and hands off.

It may be recalled that Mr. Moore is the author of another book, published in 1929 and called "America's Naval Challenge," free copies of which were distributed to members of Congress. Disparaging the Administration's efforts to bring the American navy up to parity with the British, Mr. Moore said: "In no case are we likely to have war with that country [England] or Japan, unless this country is responsible in a large part for it." He insisted that America did not need to maintain a navy capable of defending the

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Philippines. "We should maintain armament for the proper home defense of our possessions, from Alaska and from Maine to the Panama Canal, but not for defense across the Atlantic or across the Pacific"—advice with which the Japanese were thoroughly in accord.

After the resumption of the China invasion in 1937, Mr. Moore found it increasingly difficult to defend his employers, and is indignant that only five years after the seizure of Manchuria the Japanese should have sought more loot. He did not, however, resign his post. Japan had begun to "ride the tiger," and Mr. Moore like his employers found it difficult to dismount. Mr. Moore says he continued in their service in the hope that he could serve both the United States and Japan by attempting to prevent war, although it had already become clear that peace could be purchased only by surrender to the Japanese program of conquest.

Mr. Moore, together with his fellow-isolationists and appeasers, failed to realize until it was very late that national disaster was implied in their counsel. We might have had peace in 1931, when Mr. Moore found Stimson's policies so distasteful, or even in 1937, when he advised a "hands-off policy," but in 1941 all that was left was "hope." It was Ambassador Saito who pointed out to his somewhat startled adviser the wisdom of a strong American policy by saying he hoped Congress would approve the fortification of Guam because "the effect would be valuable upon our militarists."

Willard Price's new book is largely a rewritten version of his "Children of the Rising Sun," published in 1938. In the earlier book the author saw with exceptional clarity the course of Japanese aggression but was completely at a loss about how it should be met. In fact, his suggestion was not to meet it at all. He virtually conceded Japanese domination of the Far East and, like Mr. Moore, suggested that the United States withdraw. Like Mr. Moore again, he thought that "our best hope may be through Japan," with which country we carried on more trade than with any other in the Orient. He even questioned the value of a military victory over Japan because "things would soon be just as before."

Mr. Price's new book eliminates the numerous inaccuracies and outdated views of his old one, while retaining much interesting and important information about the Japanese people, whom Mr. Price understood better than he did the international situation. JOSEPH NEWMAN

The Mind of Nehru

GLIMPSES OF WORLD HISTORY. By Jawaharlal Nehru. The John Day Company. $4.

A HISTORY of the world by the second most important leader of India naturally arouses great interest. It is, if nothing more, a testimony to the intellectual versatility of its author, who amid the activities of political life has read so widely and gathered facts so intelligently that he has managed to produce a quite creditable survey of world history, not inferior to Wells's "Outline of History," to which incidentally the author acknowledges his indebtedness. Interest in the work is increased by the knowledge that the book was written in prison in the period 1931-34, and that it was meant primarily for his youngest daughter. The chapters are in the form of dated letters to her, but the personal element is never obtrusive. Many chapters were obviously written for a larger audience, for they would hardly be comprehensible to a small girl.

It cannot be claimed that the book as history contains anything striking or original, although its emphasis on Oriental events and its treatment of the great heroes of the East wholesomely offset the usual historical survey which makes world history ancillary to the history of Europe. The author has some difficulty in finding a pattern to give meaning to the panorama of events that he records. He presents modern history primarily as a struggle between imperialism and nationalism, and his position as a nationalist leader prompts him to regard this struggle as a conflict between good and evil, but he is too conscious of the divisive force of nationalism in the world to hold to such a thesis resolutely.

Most of us will probably be more interested in the glimpses into Nehru's own mind that the book affords than in its presentation of world history. Among the great leaders of history Akbar, Napoleon, and Lenin claim his particular interest. Akbar he regards as "in a sense—the father of Indian nationalism," a "wise despot," who made commendable efforts to synthesize Hindu and Moslem culture. Of Lenin he declares that "as time passes he grows greater; he has become one of the chosen company of the world's immortals." His enthusiasm for Lenin extends to the whole Soviet experiment.

It is not unnatural that he should find difficulty in doing justice to Britain and British civilization. He thinks that Britain does not have real democracy but rather exploits the democratic idea for undemocratic purposes. The depth of his anti-British feeling warps many a judgment. His own political convictions may be described as passionately democratic and socialistic. Of the terror unleashed by revolutionary movements, he observes that it is only more vivid than the "day-to-day terror of starvation which overshadows millions."

Quite obviously his political convictions are not identical with those of Gandhi. He is of course generous in his appreciation of the Mahatma. He observes that "behind his language of peace and friendship there was power and the quivering shadow of action and a determination not to submit to wrong." But it is significant that he transmutes Gandhi's religious doctrine of non-violence into pragmatic strategy, justified because no other alternative is open to India. "Armed rebellion seemed out of question for the Indian people. We were disarmed, and most of us did not even know the use of arms. Besides, in a contest of violence the organized power of the British government, or any state, was far greater than anything that could be raised against it." Gandhi's program was "an effective way to get the masses to function, and it seemed to fit in with the peculiar genius of the Indian people."

Nehru's autobiography furnished us of course with other glimpses into the mind of one of the great political leaders of our day, and perhaps this book gives us no new insight. It is nevertheless a rewarding experience to accompany this man through the paths and bypaths of history. He is plainly a leader of striking spiritual integrity. Is he also, one wonders, a man of resolute action? REINHOLD NIEBUHR

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Humanity and Humor

ONE MAN'S MEAT. By E. B. White. Harper and Brothers. $2.50.

BETWEEN July, 1938, and December, 1941, while the Second World War was getting under way, Mr. White was turning his place in Maine from a vacation retreat into a working farm with chickens, pigs, and sheep. He still had to earn his living by writing, and the essays in this volume—most of them for *Harper's*—were composed on the run, as it were, between the hen-house and the radio. They are divided between E. B. White the farmer and E. B. White the paragrapher of current affairs, whose talent has made such an impress on the front pages of the *New Yorker,* but the interplay of the two personalities is close and healthy; his devotion to his farm spares Mr. White no responsibility in the world, and his worldliness gives an added dimension to his farm. Unlike most literary people who return to the soil, Mr. White is a person of sensibility, not a sentimentalist, and when, for instance, he helps deliver a lamb, he has a decent self-consciousness but no need to glorify himself. An individual and a gentleman, he isn't out to sell you the idea that a farm is any man's meat. The record of his adventure shows not the slightest trace of being directed against *you:* peculiar among literary farmers, Mr. White didn't leave the city in order to leave you behind, nor is it any part of his effort to outsmart you on new territory. He will respect you and leave you alone as long as you respect him and leave him alone; this would be his definition of democracy, and he is ready to die for democracy. Vulgarity is something Mr. White takes into account by the way; he helps fumigate it out of existence with his fine aseptic prose.

The kinship with Thoreau is explicit throughout this book but there is also Mr. White's implicit kinship with Montaigne. Obviously, compared to the great humanist, Mr. White's powers are on a minor scale; in the matter of style, real as his gifts are, we question whether his felicity has not sometimes been achieved by going around rather than over intellectual hurdles. But as we read the diary he kept in the First World War, we recognize how compellingly the humanistic tradition had already claimed him, even as a young man. Perhaps this isn't remarkable—young men often reach a kind of climax of intellectual decency in their college years, after which their development is a steady retrogression justified in the name of "reality"—but what is remarkable is that Mr. White has held fast to this heritage into maturity and through a period in the world's history in which, on the liberal as well as the reactionary front, it has been so tempting to pervert mind to the uses of power.

I recall only one essay in the volume that deals specifically with the temptations that writers face in a troubled society. Nevertheless, every line Mr. White writes—whether he is dealing with egg-production or the Townsend plan, country schools or Anne Lindbergh (his analysis of "The Wave of the Future," incidentally, is a small masterpiece, one of the best things in the book)—supports in practice this single statement of his literary creed. It is January, 1939, and Mr. White has been informed that a certain writer, stricken by the cruel events of the world, has vowed never again to write anything that isn't significant and liberty-loving. "I have an idea that this, in its own way, is bad news," writes Mr. White. "Having resolved to be nothing but significant, he is in a fair way to lose his effectiveness. . . . Even in evil times, a writer should cultivate only what naturally absorbs his fancy, whether it be freedom or cinch bugs. . . . A literature composed of nothing but liberty-loving thoughts is little better than the propaganda which it seeks to defeat. In a free country it is the duty of writers to pay no attention to duty. Only under a dictatorship is literature expected to exhibit an harmonious design or an inspirational tone." And he sums up: "A writer must believe in something, obviously, but he shouldn't join a club."

Well, Mr. White has joined no club except a society called Friends of the Land, but he believes in many good things. Being a humanist himself, he is a firm believer, for one thing, in man's humanity.

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IN BRIEF

THE UNINVITED. By Dorothy Macardle. Doubleday, Doran and Company. $2.50.

As you've probably heard, this is the new "Rebecca." It's about a nice young brother and sister who take a house in North Devon, despite being warned that there are "disturbances," and find among their uninvited guests a strange pair of materializations. The goings-on include emanations, séances, and some pleasant conversations; you don't have to believe in ghosts to enjoy it, although it probably helps. A very successful job.

SHAKESPEARE IN HARLEM. By Langston Hughes. Alfred A. Knopf. $2.50.

This book by the "Negro Poet Laureate" describes itself as a "book of light verse. Afro-American in the blues mood. Poems syncopated and variegated in the colors of Harlem, Beale Street, West Dallas, and Chicago's South Side. Blues, ballads, and reels to be read aloud, crooned, shouted, recited, and sung. Some with gestures, some not—as you like. None with a far-away voice." Death, frustration, poverty, and persecution are related in tones that ask, as it were, for sympathy through laughter rather than for sympathy through understanding. From the drawings (in reverse) by E. McKnight Kauffer to the title and lavender print on the black-cloth cover, the book attempts a folklore atmosphere and succeeds in being lugubrious. In the main, the lyrics, more in the category of Americana than poetry, are sincere and very readable, a kind of tragic light verse of today.

RECORDS

A CHICAGO reader has sent me a clipping from the Chicago *Daily News,* in which he says I will be interested "as an admirer of Schnabel, and especially of his playing of the Beethoven Fourth [Concerto]." I think that others besides myself will be excited by the news that Schnabel has been recording the Fourth and Fifth Concertos with the Chicago Symphony under Stock. With some of the outstanding recorded performances like the Cortot-Thibaud-Casals versions of Beethoven's Trio Op. 97 and Schubert's Op. 99 being withdrawn from the catalogue, it is a relief to know that Schnabel himself is making replacements for his incomparable performances of those two Beethoven concertos in the old Victor sets. And one hopes that after this beginning Victor will go on to record Schnabel's incomparable performances of Mozart—in the Concertos K. 450, 453, 466, 482, 488, 491. One hopes also for more recordings of his incomparable performances of Schubert.

The word "great" may be used loosely for mere emphasis; but applied to the last instrumental works of Schubert—the C major Symphony, the C major String Quintet, the posthumously published piano sonatas in C minor, A major, and B flat—it is used strictly to describe the experience and emotion they communicate, the musical forms in which the experience and emotion are communicated: in these respects the works are among the greatest that have come down to us. Only one of them, the posthumous Sonata in A major, has been available in a recorded performance fully commensurate with the stature of the work—the performance by Schnabel. The C major Quintet, in particular, we have had only in the mediocre performance of the Pro Arte Quartet; and so the Columbia set (497, $6.83) offering a superb performance by the Budapest Quartet with Benar Heifetz as added cellist is one of the events of the year. I played the set on a privately made phonograph which gives the finest reproduction of records that I know; I played it on this machine first with the wide-range, light-weight Brush PL-25 pickup, then with the limited-range, heavy Astatic Tru-tan; and with each pickup I also played the imported recording of Beethoven's Quartet Op. 74, which gave me the sound of the Budapest Quartet as I know it in the concert hall—the rich, warm, beautifully blended sound of the entire group, with the dark, deep-plumbing sound of Schneider's cello as its foundation. It would have been a pleasure to hear these things come off the Columbia records; and it was a disappointment to hear instead an altered over-all sound that was voluminous but cold and coarse, with the cellos heard only faintly under the other instruments. This was true with both the Brush and the Astatic; but the surfaces which were extremely noisy with the Brush were fairly quiet with the Astatic. The records, in other words, will sound best on the machines of limited range with heavy pickups that are in most homes.

The contrast between Toscanini's shattering concentration and intensity and Bruno Walter's rhetorical expansiveness that was presented by their recorded performances of Beethoven's "Eroica" a year ago is now to be observed in their performances of the Fifth. Toscanini's version was issued by Victor two years ago; Columbia now offers Walter's (Set 498, $4.73), which on the whole is more straightforward and effective, to my ears, than his performance of the "Eroica"—with only a couple of *Luftpausen* in the second movement, as against the emotional wallowing in the "Eroica." The recorded sound of the Toscanini performance was hard, wooden, harsh; with the Brush the sound of the Walter performance is voluminous but cold and hollow on top and wooden down below, and reverberant and noisy; with the Astatic it is brighter and clearer; with both the surfaces are a little gritty. In the end you may prefer the powerful and well recorded Weingartner performance, which it is to be hoped Columbia will keep in circulation.

The Grand Fugue Op. 133, which was the original finale of Beethoven's Quartet Op. 130, and which for some listeners remains formidable and difficult to grasp even after other works of this last period are accessible, has been recorded for Columbia by the Busch Chamber Players (Set X-221, $2.63). The Budapest Quartet of ten years ago recorded a performance that can still be listened to; but this is a piece of music which gains by the greater weight of sound from the larger group of players; and even apart from that the Busch performance is a good one. Its recorded sound is a little cold but otherwise good, the surfaces gritty—with both pickups.

When I heard Ormandy's performance of Schumann's Second Symphony a few years ago I found it a little tense and hard; but at that time I had not yet heard the violently, explosively tense performance which Mitropoulos has recorded for Columbia with the Minneapolis Symphony (Set 503, $5.78), and which I find even less advantageous than Ormandy's for a work of such warmth and intimacy. On a Scott 23 machine with the Brush the over-all sound was good except for coldness, occasional faulty balance (the murmuring strings at the beginning, for example, were almost inaudible), and occasional rattles and break-ups; and the surfaces were bad. With the Astatic the surfaces were quieter.

B. H. HAGGIN

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Letters to the Editors

Hawaii's Loyal Japanese

Dear Sir: In his *Nation* article of July 25, Albert Horlings scores the United States for its liberal or lax treatment of persons of Japanese extraction now residing in Hawaii. He argues that the great majority of them cannot be trusted; that we are taking a bad risk. The charges made by Mr. Horlings against these 150,000 Japanese, 110,000 of whom are American citizens, are numerous and serious. I wholly agree with Mr. Horlings that "Hawaii's safety is not a local matter, and a decision relating to a control of a possible fifth column must be determined by national interest." It does not follow, however, that a prejudiced, ill-considered presentation of the case will be any help in clarifying the situation. Being of Japanese descent, born and reared in Hawaii, I too may be biased, but let us look at the other side of the coin.

The degree to which people of Japanese blood have been assimilated into Hawaiian-American society has been, I feel, grossly understated. I doubt whether there is one island sociologist or any one else familiar with the island's racial problems who will go halfway with Mr. Horlings. The statement in his opening paragraph to the effect that a majority of us cannot read or write English is plain nonsense. For the citizen group, the extent of American schooling is as high as for other racial groups in Hawaii and compares very favorably with that of the mainland states. Alien Japanese recently arrived in Hawwai do as well, on the whole, as others of like circumstances. "Thousands see or hear almost nothing American, while they consume Japanese food, Japanese clothing, Japanese music, Japanese pictures, Japanese newspapers and magazines by the shipload," says Mr. Horlings. He does not mention the overwhelming majority who prefer Bob Hope, Bette Davis, and Gary Cooper; who read the *Reader's Digest,* the *Woman's Home Companion,* the *Saturday Evening Post, Life, The Nation, Harpers;* who dress as Americans and sing American songs. It seems silly to deny that our attitudes are fashioned after American patterns. Where Mr. Horlings gets the idea that we of Japanese blood "imagine Hawaii without American rule" and picture ourselves as top dogs in this new Hawaii, I do not know.

The question of dual citizenship cannot be dismissed so easily. As Mr. Horlings states, it is true that a great number of American citizens have failed to burn their bridges to Japan. Non-expatriation, however, is by no means an indication of disloyalty to the United States. Many are still dependents of aliens who cannot become American citizens because of the Immigration Act of 1924 and, therefore, cannot act independently. Many have been simply negligent, for expatriation is a cumbersome and time-consuming affair. The leaders among the citizen group are all expatriated, for it is impossible to make much headway in Hawaii without taking this step. As we go into the third and fourth generations, this problem will automatically be solved.

The question of our loyalty, of course, forms the hub around which all other considerations revolve, and loyalty is too much an intangible thing to permit of estimates or generalities. Most of our non-Japanese island leaders have vouched for the loyalty of Hawaii's Japanese. This was borne out during and after Japan's attack on Pearl Harbor and has been officially confirmed, but Mr. Horlings prefers to judge our loyalty on purely racial lines.

What of the solution? Can we gamble on the loyalty of the 150,000 Japanese in Hawaii? I will not deny for one minute that some agents of Tokyo and their dupes are still running loose, but the overwhelming majority of us here proved that we will stand by America when the zero hour strikes. We have brothers and relatives in the armed forces of the United States and are just as anxious for an Allied victory as other Americans.

Double or triple the FBI force in Hawaii. This would be more practical and wise than a wholesale evacuation which would involve innumerable hardships as well as seriously undermine our democratic concepts and the value of United States citizenship. That the Japanese on the West Coast have been evacuated is no reason for the same treatment in Hawaii. In reading through the Tolan Committee hearings and reports, I am far from convinced such drastic steps were necessary, especially since they were instigated not by the military but by hysterical civilians and interested groups. I suggest further that we young men of fighting age be given the same opportunities in the armed forces as other American boys and, secondly, some assurance of equality in the post-war world.

THOMAS H. IGE

Madison, Wis., July 29

Bethlen an Anti-Nazi?

Dear Sirs: In his *Nation* article of July 25 Mr. Kovacs referred to Count Stephen Bethlen as "the well-known anti-Nazi." This epithet seems to me too generous and somewhat misleading when applied to the man who wrote in 1938 the following lines in his *Hungarian Quarterly:*

> Many a time it would have been easier [for Hungary] to become incorporated in the ring of the Little Entente, for that would have meant exchanging our condition of life for far more favorable ones than those existing at present. We could have sold our birthright for a mess of pottage and made it possible for a hostile Great Power to come into being on the southeastern frontier of Germany, which might have completed the work of blockading her. We did not do it, although there were those among us who *might have been won over to this policy.* . . . By not doing it, however, we have rendered *the German nation an immense service;* and we are still doing so today, when this road *might still be open to us.*

Count Stephen Bethlen, the president of the *Hungarian Quarterly,* Tibor Eckhardt, one of its vice-presidents, and many more such "anti-Nazis" are certainly annoyed today with the Nazis in Hungary who actually supervise the methodical oppressing of the unfortunate Hungarian people, a function the Hungarian estate owners and Junker-bureaucrats consider their privilege.

When Secretary Hull spoke the other day of "growing cancers within and among the nations" and of that extreme nationalism which "encouraged and facilitated the rise of dictators," it was hard not to recall that among all the Prime Ministers of Europe Count Stephen Bethlen was the very first to seek a meeting with the still plotting and relatively obscure Hitler in 1930, and was the first to confer with him when the Führer came into power in 1933.

STEPHEN DOKTOR

New York, July 26

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